1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango.

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by another means. In conquered territories successful warriors received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an important part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which moneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenianlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: oy conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los niños y niñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nemontemj y es lo mismo del bisesto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

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[304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil successes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nencioatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mi- d 31
eros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñir: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

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[578]
[787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se hazia dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan mouibles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas mouibles vn año caysan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variman.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas mouibles.

La primera fiesta mouible se celebrava a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelotl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornizes y incensauan: y en el medio mataua cautivos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

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The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the sculptors celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta mouible.

En este mismo signo en la septima casa hazia fiesta todos los pintores, y los labradores ayunauã quarẽta

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X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *maguey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[178] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, *five tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac*, "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cintropan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

cetzcaoc, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, icoloatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no icheantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaeuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnzotzochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujhtetl, acaquaubcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepioacqui, quappitztic, tlaixtexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan eelo izquitl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenteoa calonooac, cali onocac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ic teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neauitilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpuchtli:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cobar de mahiz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 256) translates the term as *mata de maiz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*parvata o mata de maya entre de que spigue.*"

7. "*Cierta yerua, que llamamos, mecoual.*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Ortúño y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the *maguey*, says: "*Las raices gruesas mecoual, yerbas de jabón.*"

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

X796 And the old woman and the old man, those who
887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatique, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlâtlacoana tlâtlacoano, niotlatlacoantia, tlanepantla xochapantica qujoalmana yn vctli:

X796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlacoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavtitia, in vtitli yciouh. Auh intla tlautitia tetlacoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vctli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[578] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec netetteco: auh in cequjntin yn ovelíujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquaubtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
X796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn oemuxcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teicoleuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililoni, in pinauhtiloni, njman moiolceuja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiquilia, yn inneacaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzoquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name: wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquizcaiót, nenquiçaliztli, ãoneoninemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamaubcaitililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quitocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompoubquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: yncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli quicuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Cococolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo temeciolloti, aocmo itech ca nitemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlacaoian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, necllaquaoaloc, oquizcauhque injoiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quizcoaiã inon oquẽtelezin, mecatiquetz, inon oihiio quicujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipocallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony save.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yhoti in iuoc quinocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin iouc tzca momoth inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh inela tepal otlama iouc mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amoxo mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiaoalxima çaniio inioua nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imacenalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuitonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inoncuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in itzac in ichtilmaton itzac in imaxtlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
396] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiocaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochtiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinioac ipan quiuica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtilitia mixtlapallooztzalhuia quicemaquia in itxiac, auh in icanacaca quitecoxauhtia in icalpiscalooan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinioac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopalnenonanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmaztlatl iacaxiac ioan centetl centzonmaztlatl tlatlapalli, auh iouc compeoaltia in tlacuilolchimatli quispecmi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhqui in inetlauhtil motchioua in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil motchioa, auh oncan catzaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochtiaqui quicalaquiaia itzuchtican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaxipaco tlacaxcaltia vmpa quimincaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in icuitica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following quimocuechcahuia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yuan vmpa quiquixtiuia—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "unas mantas con unas listas labradas de color amarillo; y otras mantas labradas de colorado que se llaman cochalopolli; y . . . un maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que estuviesse hasta colgado, y otro maxtle labrado de muchos colores."